

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

Routing Slip

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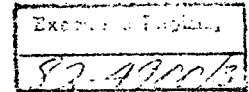
Please prepare response to Clark
for DCI's signature.

11 May 1982
Date

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506



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May 10, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. L. PAUL BREMER III
Executive Secretary
Department of State

LIEUTENANT COLONEL ROBERT P. MEEHAN
Assistant for Interagency Matters
Office of the Secretary of Defense

[Redacted]

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✓ Executive Secretary
Central Intelligence Agency

MS. JACQUELINE TILLMAN
Executive Assistant to the United States
Representative to the United Nations

MR. JOSEPH PRESEL
Executive Secretary
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

SUBJECT: President's Trip to Europe -- Public
Affairs Campaign

Attached is a paper prepared by ICA concerning public affairs aspects of the President's trip to Europe, June 2-11. We would appreciate your comments on this paper by close of business Friday, May 14, 1982.

Michael O. Wheeler
Michael O. Wheeler
Staff Secretary

Attachment

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Review May 10, 1988

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Synopsis

A PUBLIC AFFAIRS CAMPAIGN TO SUPPORT AND FOLLOW UP
PRESIDENT REAGAN'S TRIP TO EUROPE JUNE 2-11

Summary: This paper proposes a public affairs campaign for the President's trip. The strategy for this campaign is divided into three phases: laying the groundwork for the trip, maximizing the public affairs opportunities during the visit, and minimizing negative outcomes; and seeking long-term gains following the President's meetings. U.S. public posture regarding major issues is recommended. Specific targets of opportunities are suggested. Although dealing with many domestic U.S. developments the USICA concerns are, of course, international.

Central Recommendation

A dynamic statement of U.S. short and long-term goals for world peace and how we propose to continue the search is needed to help build the necessary international support.

We can best regain the public affairs initiative from the Soviets and respond to the anti-nuclear forces by elevating the public debate to focus on our strategy for attaining world peace.

These purposes can best be achieved by a carefully coordinated set of actions centering on several central arguments to be presented by President Reagan, articulated and reinforced by his principal advisors and supported by key political figures and leaders here and abroad.

It is important to seek to channel attention on the President's plans for world peace before the June meetings in Europe and SSOD in New York; and to add specific proposals to the conceptual statement just before and during the June trip and SSOD. A lull in activity can be expected from late July to mid-September. The USG would then renew efforts with the opening of the next UN General Assembly Session in the fall.

The US approach must be perceived to be genuine, carefully considered, and consistent and therefore predictable. The USG should plan actions and public pronouncements for the fall that carry out the broad strategy and steps announced by the President in the next eight weeks.

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Action Proposals

- 1) Private meetings by the President, and/or Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense and ACDA Director with responsible leaders of private group in Washington, D.C. during and following the April 28 Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations to discuss the UN SSOD at the Department of State.
- 2) A major speech by the President in early to mid-May at a college commencement (e.g. Eureka College May 9) presenting a "Strategy for the Attainment of Enduring World Peace".
- 3) A series of speeches, public statement or public releases on major arms issues that summarize U.S. positions imply openings and comprise a statement for the record.
- 4) Series of Public Statements on Selected Themes by Senior USG officials including members of the SSOD Reiterating Continuing Search by the US Peace Through Arms Reduction.
- 5) A Major Speech by President Reagan, such as the Commencement Address at West Point or Annapolis, May 26, Announcing the Beginning of START Talks, Enunciating US Goals and Posture for the Talks.
- 6). Appearances at Overseas Events; e.g. the May 13-16 Bilderberg Meeting in Norway, the June 24-26 Freidrich Ebert Foundation "European-American Workshop on Security Issues," (USICA to provide list of opportunities from May through December.)
- 7) Speech by the President at the UN SSOD.

A separate public affairs strategy paper is being completed by the Agency on the SSOD. That paper follows from the proposals above. Briefly, it is recommended that the President's speech at the SSOD recapitulate US positions enunciated prior to and during his trip to Europe, and add a few specific, if limited, initiatives especially attractive to third world nations.

8. Fall UN General Assembly Speech by President or Secretary of State that Summarizes US Positions to Date, Focuses on the US Search for Peace, Repeats the Theme of the President's Trip to "Peace, Freedom and Prosperity."

Comments on Proposed Speeches and Public Events During the President's Trip.

It will be important for the President in his speeches and public statements in Europe to continue the argument he began in pre-trip addresses. The proposed themes of prosperity, freedom and security should be linked.

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It is vital to recognize publically that economic problems color the public view of defense needs, and to argue that the three goals are inextricable elements of the larger goal of a stable peace.

In order to avoid the appearance of a diffuse and overly moralizing statement about shared values, the London speech might focus on the need for the West -- for all nations -- to improve democratic self-government. This approach would give a very practical and definite cast to the President's remarks. U.S. initiatives would further the central foundations of the West. A number of transnational institutions are already involved in this endeavor.

Strategy Paper

A PUBLIC AFFAIRS CAMPAIGN TO SUPPORT AND FOLLOW UP
PRESIDENT REAGAN'S TRIP TO EUROPE JUNE 2-11

Summary: This paper proposes a public affairs campaign for the President's trip. The strategy for this campaign is divided into three phases: laying the groundwork for the trip, maximizing the public affairs opportunities during the visit, and minimizing negative outcomes; and seeking long-term gains following the President's meetings. U.S. public posture regarding major issues is recommended. Specific targets of opportunities are suggested. Although dealing with many domestic U.S. developments the USICA concerns are, of course, international.

A. Assumptions

Public pressures both in the United States and overseas against current U.S. security policies are likely to be more intense this Spring than at any time in the past decade. The Vietnam-era network of peace groups is being reconstructed and was evident in "Ground Zero" events April 18-24, in demonstrations here and in Europe and Japan, and in major demonstrations June 10 in Bonn and June 12 at the SSOD in New York. The movements involve diverse, usually non-political people as well as activists.

Although several polls show that Americans are very concerned about the Soviet military buildup and international behavior, public support for a nuclear freeze is equally widespread.

Similarly in Europe, several polls show the appeal of a nuclear freeze, broad opposition to the development of intermediate range nuclear weapons such as Pershing II and Ground Launched Cruise Missiles, and the Enhanced Radiation Weapon. While majorities of European publics support NATO, and would defend themselves against Soviet attack, equally sizable majorities share the sentiment, albeit less intensely, of the anti-nuclear movement.

The several anti-nuclear movements coalescing this Spring are fueled by mounting criticism of U.S. economic policies. Europeans unduly criticize our monetary and trade policies as the leading cause of Europe's economic difficulties. In the U.S., pro-freeze sentiment's somewhat more evident among the lower middle class -- those with a lot to lose because current economic difficulties -- than among the upper middle class. In Europe and Japan, support for nuclear opposition comes from a range of groups that are feeling the economic pinch. The guns-versus-butter tradeoff is very evident, and can become more influential in the absence of improved economic conditions. Deep-seated concern about personal well-being, welfare systems and material standards is a vital force behind antagonism toward nuclear arms modernization and defense spending in Europe and Japan, and is becoming a more prominent factor in the U.S.

The Soviets have generated a least some of the movement in Europe and will exploit every event and sponsor their own such as the May 10-15 peace conference of religious leaders.

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Therefore, the United States can not expect to mobilize a strong, vocal majority of the American public in favor of USG positions, and must anticipate even greater antipathy in Europe. Although the USG may retain public support for flexibility, other governments are likely to feel even more pressured by activist groups and public opinion. Our long term political and security goals could be affected significantly.

In addition, because our positions are reasoned and complex they lack the simplicity and emotional appeal of the calls of the anti-nuclear movement.

B. Central Recommendation

A dynamic statement of U.S. short and long-term goals for world peace and how we propose to continue the search is needed to help build the necessary international support.

We can best regain the public affairs initiative from the Soviets and respond to the anti-nuclear forces by elevating the public debate to focus on our strategy for attaining world peace.

Only a broad, deeply desired concept of world peace can subsume issues such as the nuclear freeze, the use of specific weapons, or strategies of deterrence.

As the President in his November 18 speech, we must once again

- Get ahead of the peace movement and the Soviets by re-claiming a progressive leadership role;
- Offer imaginative, substantive initiatives for world peace that at least are perceived to be worthwhile alternatives to the several proposals publicly discussed, and at most are far-reaching enough to win sustained support from important segments of the public here and abroad.
- Thereby re-design the agenda for negotiation and public discussion internationally, around our frame of reference and terms.

These purposes can only be achieved by a carefully coordinated set of actions centering on several central arguments to be presented by President Reagan, articulated and reinforced by his principal advisors and supported by key political figures and leaders here and abroad.

C. Timing and Sequence:

It is important to seek to channel attention on the President's plans for world peace before the June meetings in Europe and SSOD in

New York; and to add specific proposals to the conceptual statement just before and during the June trip and SSOD. A lull in activity can be expected from late July to mid-September. The USG would then renew efforts with the opening of the next UN General Assembly Session in the fall.

D. Approaches

While a Strategy for Peace should be a distinct set of Administration proposals with the President's personal imprimatur, every effort should be made to develop broad political support here and abroad. This should involve senior members of the Administration, bi-partisan Congressional endorsement, supportive public statements by prominent U.S. citizens, foreign officials and leaders.

Even if there will be some who oppose or differ with some elements of the President's strategy, it is vital that the efforts be perceived widely as an attempt to associate with the international concern about war and the yearning for peace and prosperity that dominate contemporary anti-nuclear forces.

The US approach must be perceived to be genuine, carefully considered, and consistent and therefore predictable. The USG should plan actions and public pronouncements for the fall that carry out the broad strategy and steps announced by the President in the next eight weeks.

E. Action Proposals

1) Private meetings by the President, and/or Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense and ACDA Director with responsible leaders of private groups in Washington, D.C. during and following the April 28 Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations to discuss the UN SSOD at the Department of State.

Public Affairs Purpose: to demonstrate the willingness of the Administration to reach out and entertain the views of respected public figures and leaders of the peace movement. Also to give the Administration leaders a chance personally to mention USG commitment to an enduring peace, and exchange views on arms reduction issues.

Conduct: photo opportunity followed by informal private discussions, with no set agenda or necessary structure; followed by low-key positive mention of the discussions by Administration spokesmen and hopefully positive comments by representatives at the discussions.

USG Support: mention at White House and Department press briefings; private comments to influential columnists that the meetings are part of an ongoing effort by the Administration to hear and seriously consider the views of those concerned about issues of war and peace, and to craft a US position which recognizes the desirable goals and reflects those elements that seem legitimate and practicable. USICA wireless file, Voice of America coverage.

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- 2) A major speech by the President in early to Mid-May at a college commencement (e.g. Eureka College May 9) presenting a "Strategy for the Attainment of Enduring World Peace".

Public Affairs Purpose: To present and begin the development of a central concept that at once integrates and elevates several dimensions of the peace issue. Also to provide a broader substitute for "nuclear freeze" or "no first use of nuclear weapons" and to focus attention on the most important goal of lasting world peace. To make the case that this goal is more important than its parts; to relate this goal to several themes in American experience -- the search for peace, the search for prosperity and the search for freedom.

Conduct: The speech, presented at a college commencement, would invariably suggest comparisons with the World Peace speech of John F. Kennedy in 1963. It should be promoted as deserving national and international TV and radio coverage.

USG Support: Off-the-record or deep-background discussions with leading columnists and commentators. Live Satellite and taped feeds facilitated by USICA overseas; full VOA and USICA Wireless File coverage; fast pamphlet production and distribution in English, French, Spanish, German, and by individual USICA posts in host country languages. USICA Foreign Press Center set up special brief tour for selected group of foreign journalists to personally attend the commencement and do local color on American hopes and fears about preventing nuclear war, maintaining our security interests even if it is costly and containing Soviet expansion.

- 3) A series of speeches or public statements or public releases on major arms issues that summarize U.S. positions, imply openings and comprise a statement for the record.

Public Affairs Purpose: To keep before the public USG concern for attaining peace through arms reduction. To establish US orientation, if not detailed positions, on major arms issues. To remind publics of the wide scope of US concerns, and the diverse efforts undertaken by the USG in the past three decades. To have ready for the SSOD a compendium that US briefers, the US delegation and US officials abroad can call upon readily.

Conduct: Senior USG officials should present a speech, fully coordinated within the USG, on selected issue areas including a summary of our position at INF.

USG Support: Full USICA, VOA Wireless File coverage; special press briefings at USICA foreign press center; exclusive interviews for selected senior foreign correspondents, or small groups of selected correspondents with appropriate USG officials (Field, Rostow, Burt, Perle, others.)

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4) Series of Public Statements on Selected Themes by Senior USG officials including members of the SSOD Delegation Reiterating Continuing Search by the US for Peace Through Arms Reduction.

Public Affairs Purpose: To reiterate USG active search for ways to reduce arms, increase international stability while protecting Western security and thereby assure lasting peace. To provide alternatives for the growing press coverage of anti-nuclear events. To provide opportunities for meetings with concerned groups, to be perceived as reaching out to anti-nuclear and peace forces.

Conduct: Senior and middle level US officials should repeat the central goal of lasting peace through arms reduction, develop USG views on the need for verification, the need for equality of arms, the desirability of regional self-defense to avoid situations that draw in outside powers stress the history of U.S. arms efforts, other themes.

USG Support: VOA and USICA Wireless File coverage, USICA Foreign Press Center facilitate foreign press coverage, supportive briefings or interviews.

5) A Major Speech by President Reagan, such as the Commencement Address at West Point or Annapolis, May 26, Announcing the Beginning of START Talks, Enunciating US Goals and Posture for the Talks.

Public Affairs Purpose: To capture the initiative for the US in the Public arena. To focus global attention on the US agenda for arms reduction. To demonstrate USG bona fides in the search for peace. To link military preparedness and arms reduction as necessary complements in the attainment of stability and lasting peace.

Conduct: Set at one of this nation's prestigious military academies, the speech will suggest a national consensus in support of attaining a stable world peace. While honoring those who serve in America's military the speech will be perceived overseas as having the support of US defense institutions. The speech will make the point that this nation views military preparedness as a deterrent and therefore an instrument of peace rather than destruction.

USG Support: Secretary of State Haig Backgrounder, similar to the backgrounder November 18. Full VOA and USICA Wireless File Coverage; USICA to facilitate live satellite broadcast or taped feeds, as well as foreign press coverage. Appearances by Vice President Bush, Secretary of State Haig, Secretary of Defense Weinberger, Judge Clark, others on talk shows; USICA pickup for use abroad.

6) Appearances at Overseas Events; e.g. the May 13-16 Bilderberg Meeting in Norway, the June 24-26 Freidrich Ebert Foundation "European-American Workshop on Security Issues," (USICA to provide list of opportunities from May through December.)

Public Affairs Purpose: To present US views and USG positions on East-West relations, security issues. To demonstrate our receptivity to the views of others. To reiterate US concerns for working out a stable peace.

Conduct: Senior and middle level officials would participate in these meetings and ancillary functions including press contact and public briefings, arranged by USICA posts.

USG Support: Commitments by USG officials, respected Congressional leaders and influential private citizens are needed. USICA and USICA posts will make all arrangements.

7) Speech by the President at the UN SSOD

A separate public affairs strategy paper is being completed by the Agency on the SSOD. That paper follows from the proposals above. Briefly, that the President's speech at the SSOD recapitulate US positions enunciated prior to and during his trip to Europe, and add a few specific, if limited, initiatives especially attractive to third world nations.

8) Fall UN General Assembly Speech by President or Secretary of State that Summarizes US Positions to Date, Focuses on the US Search for Peace, Repeats the Theme of the President's Trip on "Peace, Freedom and Prosperity."

Public Affairs Purpose: To reinforce US efforts to gain recognition as a mainstay of global peace and with support for US positions; to continue to set the agenda for international discussion rather than react to the Soviet or third world agenda

USG Support: Secretary of State or US Ambassador to the UN Kirkpatrick backgrounder on the speech. USICA Wireless File and VOA Coverage; USICA facilitates foreign media coverage.

E. Comments on Proposed Speeches and Public Events During the President's Trip

In his speeches and public statements in Europe, it will be important for the President to continue the argument he began in pre-trip addresses. The proposed themes of prosperity, freedom and security should be linked.

It is vital to recognize publically that economic problems color the public view of defense needs, and to argue that the three goals are inextricable elements of the larger goal of a stable peace.

After the Versailles meeting a Presidential statement could acknowledge the shared Western concerns about the health of the global economy. Specific commitments for actions that respond to important to European concerns will gain a positive public response and set a constructive tone for the entire trip.

The Agency has developed a public affairs paper recommending possible U.S. public posture regarding economic issues that will arise at the Versailles meeting and remain significant later (attached). Like the Department of State memorandum of April 8 on the two summits, this paper recognizes the important spillover affect that the Versailles Conference will have on the rest of the trip. Our research shows that economic issues are exerting a clear influence on the willingness of the Western community to cooperate on political/security affairs.

The President can make the case that the Western community should regard a healthy economic situation as a vital base for needed security measures, and that adequate security -- as shown by recent history -- is a central requisite for stable Western economic growth and material well-being, and even for a stable political basis for East-West relations.

The London speech should challenge younger generations to study the past, communicate with those who have earlier experience and build on a future that improves upon the past. The speech would be, in effect, another commencement address by a senior statesman yet should avoid appearing patronizing. As suggested in the Department of State memoranda of April 8, the speech should recommend innovative ways for the Western community to renew shared values.

In order to avoid the appearance of a diffuse and overly moralizing statement about shared values, the London speech might focus on the need for the West -- for all nations -- to improve democratic self-government. This approach would give a very practical and definite cast to the President's remarks. U.S. initiatives would further the central foundations of the West. A number of transnational institutions are already involved in this endeavor.

The President's speech can point out the challenge to the global community to achieve stable self-government that advances human interests. This is a significant international concern with implications for a contrast between democracy and authoritarian or totalitarian approaches. It provides one rationale for U.S. views of East-West and North-South relations that is important to make, especially because of the high level of political cynicism in Europe regarding U.S. motives.

Carefully crafted, the London speech could be a highly useful basis for explaining American world views, and for designing an acceptable public framework for viewing diverse US policies.

F. Additional Opportunities; Followup

In addition a number of events and opportunities in the coming six months, while not in all cases focused directly on the President's trip, will have a bearing on US policy objectives.

For example, the May 10 luncheon of Soviet emigres, including Alexander Solzhenitsyn, should make a highly charged moral statement about the hypocrisy of the Soviet Union conference of religious

figures to discuss world peace. Private U.S. religious leaders are considering additional actions and public statements. Foreign officials and leaders should be encouraged to speak out also. For each of the several preparatory and followup meetings to the Summit, U.S. officials should in their public statements reiterate the broader objectives of the U.S. and allied objective of a stable peace.

USICA would, with State, Defense, the NSC and ACDA assign responsibilities and develop a package of materials for U.S. use, for private sector groups to use overseas, and as background use in encouraging public statements and articles by foreign officials and leaders.